

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8975

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 DAR ES SALAAM 2633

NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PEPR, US, TZ
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT NYERERE'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT CARTER

REF: STATE 147789

1. THERE FOLLOWS TEXT OF LETTER FROM PRESIDENT NYERERE TO
PRESIDENT CARTER IN RESPONSE TO LATTER'S LETTER REFTEL. SIGNED
ORIGINAL IS BEING DELIVERED BY TANZANIAN EMBASSY, WASHINGTON.

2. BEGIN TEXT: 19TH JUNE, 1978, PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER, THE
WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON, D.C., USA.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

THANK YOU FOR THE LETTER WHICH I RECEIVED ON 10TH JUNE WHILE
ON MY WAY TO LUANDA FOR THE FRONT LINE STATES MEETING. IT WAS
GOOD OF YOU TO WRITE SO FRANKLY AND AT SUCH LENGTH, AND I WAS
HAPPY AT YOUR SUGGESTION THAT OUR DIALOGUE SHOULD CONTINUE.

THE TROUBLES IN SHABA PROVINCE OF ZAIRE WERE OF SUCH A
NATURE AS TO CONCERN ALL WHO CARE ABOUT HUMAN LIFE, AND ALL WHO
ARE GENUINELY CONCERNED ABOUT THE INTEGRITY OF AFRICAN STATES AND
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE IN FREEDOM. THEREFORE WHEN
YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, DECIDED TO EVACUATE U.S. CITIZENS QUIETLY
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AND WITHOUT MILITARY INVOLVEMENT WE DID NOT COMPLAIN; THAT
APPEARED TO US TO BE A LEGITIMATE EXPRESSION OF HUMANITARIAN
CONCERN. BU T THE FRENCH MILITARY INTERVENTION, AND YOUR
SUPPORT FOR IT, RAISES VERY DIFFERENT QUESTIONS, AND IS A
MATTER OF GREAT CONERN TO US.

THESE 'RESCUE OPERATIONS' ARE BY THEIR NATURE THE PRIVI-

LEGE AND PREROGATIVE OF THE RICH AND POWERFUL IN RELATION TO THE WEAK. IT IS ONLY THE POWERFUL STATES - IN EUROPE, AND U.S.A. OR THE SOVIET UNION - WHICH CAN ENVISAGE THIS KIND OF ACTION, AND EVEN THEY UNDERTAKE IT ONLY IN CERTAIN AREAS. IT CANNOT BE UNDERTAKEN BY TANZANIA OR MALAWI; AND NO ONE CAN IMAGINE WESTERN POWERS SENDING IN TROOPS TO RESCUE THEIR CITIZENS IN EASTERN EUROPE - IN A NEW CZECHOSLOVAKIA FOR EXAMPLE. THEY KNOW THAT SUCH AN ACTION WOULD HAVE SERIOUS POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES FOR THEM, AND MIGHT EVEN LEAD TO A THIRD WORLD WAR. BUT IN AFRICA THE WEST SEES NO DIFFICULTY IN INTERVENING, BECAUSE AFRICA IS WEAK AND CAN WITH IMPUNITY BE TREATED AS WESTERN EUROPE'S BACKYARD. WE IN AFRICA DO RESENT THIS ATTITUDE. AND WE NOTICE THAT YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, ARE HELPING YOUR COUNTRY TO TRY TO BUILD A MORE HONOURABLE RELATIONSHIP WITH ITS LATIN AMERICAN NEIGHBORS; SO WE CANNOT UNDERSTAND HOW AT THE SAME TIME YOU CAN USE YOUR COUNTRY'S POWER AND PRESTIGE TO ENABLE WESTERN EUROPE TO ACT SO VERY DIFFERENTLY IN AFRICA.

YOU SAY, VERY TRULY, THAT NEITHER ZAIRE NOR AFRICA WOULD BENEFIT FROM A REPETITION OF THE INTERNAL CHAOS OF THE 1960S. I AGREE; I HAVE NO MORE DESIRE THAN YOU TO SEE ZAIRE FRAGMENTED AND CHAOTIC. AFRICA IS AGAINST SECESSION. THAT PROBLEM COULD CERTAINLY BE LEFT TO AFRICA, UNITED ON THE ISSUE; OUR FIRST MAJOR QUARREL WITH WESTERN EUROPE WAS WHEN IT ENGINEERED THE SECESSION OF KATANGA. BUT PRESIDENT MOBUTU IS NO LINCOLN. AND ZAIRE CANNOT INDEFINITELY BE HELD TOGETHER BY FORCE, AND PARTI-CONFIDENTIAL

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CULARLY NOT BY FOREIGN FORCE. THERE HAS TO BE A POLITICAL SOLUTION TO ITS TROUBLES, AND TO THE VERY REAL DANGER OF FRAGMENTATION.

I HOLD NO BRIEF FOR THE SHABA REBELS; INDEED I HAVE SOME SUSPICION ABOUT THEIR PURPOSES. BUT I AM VERY AWARE OF AFRICA'S NEED FOR CHANGE IN ZAIRE SO THAT IT CAN BECOME A DECENT PLACE FOR ITS PEOPLE TO LIVE IN AND LESS OF A WORRY FOR ITS NEIGHBOURS. I DO NOT SEE HOW THIS IS GOING TO HAPPEN UNTIL POLITICAL CHANGES HAVE BEEN FORCED UPON THE COUNTRY BY (BEGIN UNDERLINE) THE PEOPLES THEMSELVES. (END UNDERLINE) BUT THE DAY WHEN THAT KIND OF THING IS GOING TO BECOME POSSIBLE IS FURTHER POSTPONED WHEN THE PRESENT STRUCTURE IS MAINTAINED BY BLOODY INTERVENTION WHICH NOT ONLY UPHOLDS THE MOBUTU REGIME BUT ALSO GIVES NOTICE THAT THE REGIME WILL CONTINUE TO BE DEFENDED BY EUROPE. UNDER THOSE CIRCUMSTANCES THERE IS NO PRESSURE UPON PRESIDENT MOBUTU TO SEEK A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT WITH HIS OPPONENTS.

YOU SEE THE NECESSARY REFORMS IN ZAIRE AS BEING FACILITATED BY THE INTERVENTION, ESPECIALLY IF FRENCH AND BELGIAN TROOPS ARE REPLACED BY TROOPS FROM AFRICAN COUNTRIES, AND YOU ANSWER MY STATEMENT ABOUT A NESW BERLIN CONFERENCE BY SAYING THAT

ARRANGING FOR THESE REFORMS IS THE PURPOSE OF THE PARIS AND
BRUSSELS MEETINGS. UNFORTUNATELY, AS I SEE IT, OUR TWO
ASSESSMENTS ARE NOT INCOMPATIBLE*

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 DAR ES SALAAM 2633

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I HAVE NEVER IN THE PAST COMMENTED ON THE WESTERN CONSORTIUM
OR THE I.M.F. PRESSURES FOR ECONOMIC REFORMS IN ZAIRE, AND I
WOULD NOT BE DOING SO ON THIS OCCASION IF THAT HAD BEEN ALL THAT
IS INVOLVED. PRESIDENT MOBUTU GOT HIS COUNTRY INTO THIS ECONOMIC
MESS OF DEBTS, AND ALTHOUGH THE CREDITORS ARE TO MY MIND EQUALLY
TO BLAME FOR LENDING THE MONEY WHEN THEY COULD SEE WHAT WAS
HAPPENING TO IT, THE WORLD BEING WHAT IT IS ONE EXPECTS THEM TO
DO SOMETHING TO IMPROVE THEIR CHANCES OF GETTING THE DEBTS RE-
PAID. BUT DISCUSSIONS IN PARIS AND BRUSSELS ABOUT REPAYMENTS
AND ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM ARE NOW BASED UPON THE ASSUMPTION THAT
IF PRESIDENT MOBUTU DOES WHAT THE WEST WANTS, THEY WILL UPHOLD
HIS POWER FOR HIM. THE WEST IS SAYING, IN EFFECT, WE WILL DETER-
MINE WHO GOVERNS ZAIRE, AND HOW IT IS GOVERNED, AND WE WILL TRY
TO ENSURE THAT IT IS REASONABLY EFFICIENT BECAUSE ANYTHING ELSE
IS VERY EXPENSIVE TO US, FINANCIALLY AND POLITICALLY. THE PEOPLE
OF ZAIRE DO NOT COME INTO THE QUESTION ANYWHERE; THEIR WISHES ARE
NO MORE BEING CONSIDERED UNDER THESE ARRANGEMENTS THAN THEY WOULD
HAVE BEEN IF THERE WAS A DIRECTLY COLONIAL GOVERNMENT WHICH WAS
REASONABLY EFFICIENT.

THUS, IF PRESIDENT MOBUTU IS PREVAILED UPON TO ACCEPT
AND IMPLEMENT ALL THE ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS THE WEST CALLS
FOR, AND IF THE WEST MANAGES TO DEFEND HIM AGAINST OTHER UP-
RISINGS, AND IF AS A RESULT ZAIRE BECOMES A COUNTRY WITH SOME
KIND OF EFFECTIVE GOVERNMENT, THE OUTCOME CANNOT BE A ZAIREAN
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GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBLE AND RESPONSIVE TO ITS PEOPLE. IT WILL INEVITABLY BE A GOVERNMENT INDIRECTLY CONTROLLED BY, AND CERTAINLY MOTIVATED BY, THE INTERESTS OF THE WESTERN INVESTORS, WITH WESTERN IDEAS OF WHAT IS APPROPRIATE AND WHAT IS GOOD FOR A COUNTRY LIKE ZAIRE. IT WILL THUS BE A NEO-COLONIAL GOVERNMENT 'PAR EXCELLENCE'; THE BAISC CHANGES NECESSARY TO AN EVENTUAL ESCAPE FROM THE DEPENDENCY RELATIONSHIP WILL BE PRECLUDED BECUASE THE DEPENDENCY RELATIONSHIP ITSELF WILL SUIT BOTH THE EXTEERNAL ECONOMIC INTERESTS AND GENERAL MOBUTU OR A SUCCESSOR WHOM THE WEST DECIDES IS ACCEPTABLE.

MR. PRESIDENT; YOU WOULD LIKE US TO REJECT SOVIET AND CUBAN DOMINATION OF AFRICA. BUT YOU WOULD LIKE US TO WELCOME FRENCH AND OTHER WESTERN DOMINATION OF OUR CONTINENT. WE MUST, HOWEVER, REJECT (BEGIN UNDERLINE) ALL (END UNDERLINE) EXTERNAL DOMINATION OF AFRICA - ALL COLONIALISM AND ALL NEO-COLONIALISM, WHOEVER IS BEHIND IT. AND THE POLITICAL DOMINATION OF WHICH AFRICA HAS RECENT EXPERIENCE IS WESTERN DOMINATION. THE EXCONOMIC DOMINATION WHICH STILL EXISTS OVER AFRICA IS WESTERN DOMINATION. THESE ARE FACTS OF LIFE, AND REFLECTIONS IN TODAY'S AFRICA OF WORLD HISTORY AND WORLD ECONOMICS. BUT THEY ARE NOT IMMUTABLE; NOR SHOULD THEY BE PERPETUATED AS THE PRICE OF TEMPORARY STABILITY. IN AFRICA TRUE STABILITY IS ONLY POSSIBLE IF IT ENCOMPASSES ORDER CHANGE. AND THE PEOPLE OF AFRICA MUST RETAIN THEIR FREEDOM TO EVOLVE AND MAKE CHANGE.

I AM THEREFORE VERY WORRIED WHEN I SEE EX-COLONIAL POWERS EXTENDING THEIR CONTROL OVER AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS, AS IN THE CASE OF ZAIRE WHERE THEY ARE DELIBERATELY PROPPING UP AN UNSTABLE GOVERNMENT WHICH IS INDEBTED TO THEM BECAUSE IT IS THE MOST PLIABLE GOVERNMENT THEY ARE LIKELY TO GET IN THAT COUNTRY. THIS IS OF AS MUCH CONCERN TO ME AS A SIMILAR ACTION BY THE U.S.S.R. WOULD BE.

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EVEN MORE DISTURBING IS THAT THIS SUPPORT OF NAKED NEO-COLONIALISM IN AFRICA IS BEING JUSTIFIED ON THE BASIS OF THE EAST-WEST CONFLICT. THE STRUGGLE AGAINST NEO-COLONIALISM IS AN OLD ONE; IT WAS A NATURAL SUCCESSOR TO THE INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT FOR NATIONS WHICH ACHIEVED INDEPENDENCE BY PEACEFUL MEANS, AND IT IS SOMETHING WHICH WE CAN TRY TO DEAL WITH OVER TIME. THE EAST-WEST CONFRONTATION IN AFRICA IS A NEW THING, WHICH EXACERBATES PROBLEMS ALREADY ALMOST INSOLUBLE. AND I DO NOT MYSELF REGARD IT AS ENTERING AUTOMATICALLY AS SOON AS A SOVIET TECHNICIAN, OR EVEN SOVIET ARMS, LAND IN AN AFRICAN COUNTRY -

STILL LESS AS DOING SO WHEN TECHNICIANS AND TROOPS FROM ANOTHER SMALL COUNTRY LAND IN AFRICA. OUR POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE MEANS THAT WE HAVE THE RIGHT TO INVITE HELP FROM WHERE WE WISH; IF SOME AFRICAN STATES DECIDE THAT A WAY TO WEAKEN THE EXISTING WESTERN DOMINANCE IN AFRICA IS TO BALANCE IT A LITTLE WITH CHINESE OR SOVIET ASSISTANCE, WHAT OTHER STATE HAS THE RIGHT TO SAY THAT THEY ARE WRONG? COUNTRIES IN EASTERN EUROPE ARE DOING THE OPPOSITE IN ORDER TO REDUCE SOVIET DOMINANCE; YOU WELCOME THEIR ACTIONS* I PERSONALLY WOULD BE HAPPY IF YOU COULD HELP CASTRO TO DO THE SAME THING.

YOU SAY, "TO ME, THE ACTIVITIES OF THE SOVIET UNION AND CUBA, WHILE THEY MAY SOMETIMES COINCIDE WITH THE LEGITIMATE ASPIRATIONS OF AFRICANS, ARE DIRECTED PRIMARILY TOWARD ENHANCEMENT OF THEIR OWN SPECIAL INTERESTS". I DO NOT DISAGREE AT ALL; YOU ARE RIGHT. BUT CAN YOU DISAGREE WHEN I SAY "THE ACTIVITIES OF THE WEST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AND THE U.S.A., WHILE THEY MAY SOMETIMES COINCIDE WITH THE LEGITIMATE ASPIRATIONS OF AFRICANS, ARE DIRECTED PRIMARILY TOWARD THE ENHANCEMENT OF THEIR OWN SPECIAL INTERESTS"?

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 DAR ES SALAAM 2633

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IN ANY CASE, WHAT IS AN AFRICAN STATE SUPPOSED TO DO TO MAINTAIN THE TRUST AND FRIENDSHIP OF U.S.A. WHEN THE ACTIVITIES OF THE SOVIET UNION OR CUBA DO HAPPEN TO COINCIDE WITH AFRICA'S LEGITIMATE ASPIRATIONS? IT WOULD BE ABSURD FOR US SUDDENLY TO CHANGE OUR POLICIES, OR TO REJECT THE ASSISTANCE OF THOSE WHO HAVE DECIDED THAT FOR THE TIME BEING THEIR INTERESTS COINCIDE WITH OURS* WE CAN NO MORE DO THAT WHEN THE SOVIET UNION AGREES WITH US, OR TAKES AN INITIATIVE OF WHICH WE APPROVE, THAN WE CAN REJECT THE WESTERN PROPOSALS FOR RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA BECAUSE OF THE SOVIET UNION'S CLEAR OPPOSITION TO THEM. WE KNOW OF THAT OPPOSITION; IT IS A PROBLEM TO US JUST

AS IT WAS A PROBLEM FOR US WHEN THE U.S.A. WAS GIVING SUPPORT TO SOUTH AFRICA AGAINST THE LIBERATION STRUGGLES. IN BOTH CASES THE PROBLEM ARISES BECAUSE THE POWERFUL STATE WHICH DISAPPROVES OF OUR POLICIES CAN MAKE THEM VERY COSTLY TO US OR CAN MAKE US PAY A PENALTY IN SOME OTHERMANNER.

I AM SORRY THAT YOU HVE FELT UNABLE TO ACCEP THE PERSONAL ASSURANCES OF PRESIDENT CASTRO, AND EVEN MORE SORRY THAT YOU HAVE EXPRESSED A FEELING THAT HE COULD AND SHOULD HAVE DONE MORE TO STOP THE ATTACK ON KOLWZZI. IT IS NOT FOR ME TO ARGUE ABOUT THE BASIS FOR YOUR JUDGMENT; BUT I CANNOT HELP WONDERING IF PRESIDENT NETO FEELS THE SAME ABOUT THE CONSTANT F.N.L.A. ATTACKS FROM ZAIRE ON ANGOLAN TERRITORY, BECAUSE THERE IS CONSIDERABLE EVIDENCE THAT THE C.I.A. HAS BEEN INVOLVED IN CONFIDENTIAL

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ARMING AND SUPPORTING F.N.L.A. SINCE AT LEAST JULY 1974.

HOWEVER, AS I AM SURE YOU KNOW, PRESIDENT KAUNDA - ON HIS RECENT VISIT TO LUBUMBASHI - TRANSMITTED A MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT MOBUTU FROM PRESIDENT NETO. THE MESSAGE WAS THAT THE ANGOLANS ARE NOW TRANSFERRING THE SHABA REFUGEES AWAY FROM THE BORDER, AND THEY HOPE THAT THE F.N.L.A. FORCES AND SUPPORTERS WOULD ALSO BE MOVED AWAY FROM THE ANGOLAN/ZAIREAN BORDER. THE ACTIONS OF THE ANGOLANS IN THIS MATTER CAN BE CONFIRMED EASILY ENOUGH, FOR THE U.N. COMMISSION FOR REFUGEES HAS BEEN ASKED TO HELP WITH THE MOVEMENT AND RESETTLEMENT OF ABOUT A QUARTER OF A MILLION PEOPLE. PRESIDENT MOBUTU'S REPLY WAS HIS PUBLIC STATEMENT THAT HE PROPOSES TO SUPPORT F.N.L.A. OPERATIONS AGAINST ANGOLA - WHICH CAN ONLY MEAN THAT HE INTENDS TO STEP UP THE SUPPORT HE HAS ALWAYS BEEN GIVING OR ALLOWING ON HIS TERRITORY. SO AFRICA HAS BEEN TRYING TO HELP OVER THIS BORDER CLASH. PRESIDENT MOBUTU'S RESPONSE IS NOT IN AFRICA'S HANDS; AFRICA DOES NOT PROVIDE HIM WITH THE MEANS WITHOUT WHICH HE CANNOT CONTINUE HIS ATTACKS ON ANGOLA.

MR. PRESIDENT; YOU CANNOT BE MORE AWARE OF THE WEAKNESSES AND FAILURES OF THE O.A.U. THAN I AM. BUT I DO NOT UNDERSTAND WHY A LACK OF RESOLUTION OF AFRICAN CONFLICTS "INVITES THE INVOLVEMENT OF OUTSIDE AND NON-AFRICAN FORCES" MORE THAN A SIMILAR LACK OF RESOLUTION OF OTHER CONFLICTS IN THE WORLD. THE UNITED STATES AND WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES HAVE NOT FELT IT NECESSARY TO GET INVOLVED IN THE IRISH CONFLICT; NO-ONE RUSHES TO FILL A "VACUUM" IN CYPRUS (UNLESS IT IS TURKEY); THE KASMIR PROBLEM HAS BEEN CONTINUING FOR THIRTY YEARS, AND SO ON. WHY IS AFRICA DIFFERENT, SO THAT IT MUST BE EXPECTED TO SOLVE ITS DEEP-SEATED PROBLEMS INSTANTLY ON PAIN OF HAVING THEM SETTLED ON ITS BEHALF?

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THE O.A.U. DOES EXIST; AND ALTHOUGH ITS SUCCESS IN SOLVING THE PROBLEMS BETWEEN AFRICAN STATES HAS NOT BEEN VERY GREAT, AND ALTHOUGH IT IS INCAPABLE OF DEALING WITH INTERNAL AFRICAN PROBLEMS UNLESS ASKED BY THE STATE CONCERNED, IT DOES PLAY A USEFUL ROLE IN THESE MATTERS. WE CAN AND DO DISCUSS OUR PROBLEMS TOGETHER, AND ARGUE WITH EACH OTHER, AND DIFFERENT STATES DO MEDIATE BETWEEN OTHERS WHEN THEY ARE GIVEN A CHANCE. AND LET IT NOT BE ASSUMED THAT IN THE CASE OF ERITREA, AND CHAD, AND WESTERN SAHARA, WE ARE DOING NOTHING. THE TROUBLE IS THAT OUR ACTIVITIES ARE BEING UNDERMINED BY EXTERNAL FORCES WITH MORE POWER THAN WE HAVE.

THE O.A.U. IS MADE UP OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF AFRICA, AND TOO LARGE A PROPORTION OF THEM OWE THEIR CONTINUED EXISTENCE TO THE RUTHLESS USE OF THE GUN OR TO THE SUPPORT OF EXTERNAL POWERS (OR BOTH) RATHER THAN TO THE SUPPORT OR ACQUIESCENCE OF THEIR OWN PEOPLE. THAT LIMITS ITS PRESENT EFFECTIVENESS, IN THE SAME WAY AS THE UNITED NATIONS IS LIMITED. BUT THESE FACTS OF LIFE ARE THE BASIS ON WHICH WE MUST TRY TO BUILD; THE IMPORTANT THING IS THAT WE SHOULD NOT MEEKLY SURRENDER OUR CAPACITY TO WORK FOR THE NECESSARY CHANGES.

MR. PRESIDENT: I APOLOGISE FOR THE LENGTH OF THIS LETTER, BUT YOU WERE KIND ENOUGH TO ENCOURAGE ME TO WRITE AGAIN* I WANT UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN MY COUNTRY AND YOUR COUNTRY, AND BETWEEN AFRICA AND THE WEST. MY ONLY CONTRIBUTION IS TO EXPLAIN OUR FEELINGS OPENLY AND FRANKLY. BUT I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS MY ADMIRATION AND GOOD WISHES FOR YOU AS YOU STRUGGLE WITH THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF LEADING THE MOST POWERFUL NATION ON EARTH. YOUR VERY SINCERELY, JULIUS K. NYERERE. END TEXT.
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